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RATIONALIZATION OF THE OPERATIONS OF PTA, SADCC AND THE LUSAKA-BASED MULPOC: A PROPOSAL

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RATIONALIZATION OF THE OPERATIONS OF PTA, SADCC AND THE LUSAKA-BASED MULPOC: A PROPOSAL

I. Introduction

The sixth meeting of the Council of Ministers of the Lusaka-based MULPOC held in Mbabane, Kingdom of Swaziland, in February 1983, established a committee consisting of Botswana, Ethiopia, Kenya, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia to "study and make recommendations on ways and means by which MULPOC may foster and intensify co-operation and co-ordination with and between PTA and SADCC" 1/. The Council of Ministers also invited the secretariats of the MULPOC, PTA and SADCC to assist the Committee. This paper is a preliminary response by the ECA MULPOC secretariat to that invitation. Against the genesis of the three organizations, the paper attempts to analyse the objectives, policy, machinery and work programmes of the MULPOC, PTA and SADCC; discusses the need for co-operation and co-ordination; and recommends ways and means by which such co-operation could be fostered and intensified.

It may be recalled that, in July 1982, the SADCC Conference of Heads of State and Government meeting in Gaborone, Republic of Botswana, adopted a recommendation calling on the secretariats of SADCC and PTA to enter into consultations with a view to working out a modus operandi for their collaboration so that duplication of efforts and conflicts between them would be avoided 2/. Furthermore, as far back as 1977, resolution 296 (XIII) of the ECA Conference of Ministers invited member States to "make all possible efforts to restructure the existing intergovernmental economic organizations and rationalize their operations by establishing appropriate mechanisms for co-ordinating their programmes, and by strengthening limited multi-sectoral organizations and encouraging them to co-operate in the preparation and implementation of their programmes, leading to a greater comprehensive involvement among neighbouring groups of States". 3/

The subject of the present paper, therefore, is in keeping with many decisions taken within the framework of both ECA and OAU on the need to strengthen African regional and subregional co-operation and integration; and is also, of course, consistent with the ultimate aims and objectives of the Lagos Plan of Action and Final Act of Lagos.

II. Genesis of the three organizations

The three concerned organizations - namely, MULPOC, PTA and SADCC - are all recent creations, established in the past six years by member States of the Eastern and Southern African subregion. Their origins are, however, not identical. And there are significant differences in their objectives and approaches.

1/ See ECA Document No. ECA/MULPOC/Lusaka/VI/13 dated Feb. 1983, para. 74.

2/ Report of the SADCC meeting held in Gaborone, 19-22 July 1982.

3/ See ECA Annual Report, 1 March 1976 - 3 March 1977, Document E/CN.14/683.

The origin of the Lusaka-based MULPOC, as of the other four MULPOCs in the African region, is traceable to resolution 311 (XIII) adopted by the ECA Conference of Ministers meeting in Kinshasa in March 1977. That resolution created a family of five MULPOCs, defined their broad functions, and delineated their geographical boundaries. In the case of the Lusaka-based MULPOC, its membership was to consist of 18 countries of Eastern and Southern Africa. 4/ In common with the other MULPOCs, the Lusaka-based MULPOC is intended to function as the operational arm of ECA in implementing Africa's new development strategy which, at the subregional level, requires the MULPOCs to assist in generating and cementing the process of economic integration in the subregions they serve, as a first and pragmatic step towards the creation of a regional common market and, ultimately, an economic community.

The origin of the PTA is directly traceable to the activities of the MULPOC itself. Launching the PTA was the Lusaka-based MULPOC's priority project during its first four years of operation. The PTA is the first and so far the single most important brain-child of the MULPOC. It took four years of ECA-assisted inter-governmental negotiations to create the PTA whose treaty was signed in December 1981. However, it should be stressed that, while there is obviously no contradiction whatsoever between the nature, objectives and functions of the MULPOC, on the one hand and those of the PTA, on the other, the MULPOC was originally conceived, and has been functioning ab initio from a different perspective, that is to say basically as a catalyst and a goal setter.

The origin of SADCC was significantly different from that of the MULPOC or the PTA. SADCC arose out of a proposal to establish an economic counterpart to the political orientation of the institutionalized consultative meetings of the Front-line States which focusses primarily on the political liberation of Southern Africa. Following a series of preparatory meetings in Europe and later in Africa, the idea of creating such an organization found favour with a number of leading personalities in Southern Africa who became its leading champions. A Steering Committee was constituted in London, in May 1979, by the Frontline Foreign Ministers. This Committee served as an interim secretariat and as such provided technical expertise and administrative support. Concurrently, meetings of Frontline States Foreign Ministers, of Ministers of Economic Planning and Development, and of Heads of State and Government, were held between May and November 1979 in various capitals of the Frontline States. These culminated in the signing of the Lusaka Declaration on Development Co-operation on 1 April 1980 by the Heads of State and Government of five Frontline States 5/ who were joined by their counterparts from Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland and Zimbabwe. The Lusaka Declaration gave birth to SADCC.

This account highlights one distinctive characteristic of the PTA which must be grasped if the recommendations made elsewhere in this paper are to be seen in their proper perspective. It is that the PTA is a wholly indigenous African institution. Like the MULPOC, its roots sink deep into the native soil of the eighteen African

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4/ Angola, Botswana, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Somalia, Swaziland, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and the offshore islands of Comoros, Madagascar, Mauritius and Seychelles.

5/ Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia.

States from which it sprang and which, without any aid or inspiration from outside, patiently and painstakingly negotiated chapter and verse of the entire PTA Treaty and its protocols. It is not by accident that the process of establishing the PTA as a true instrument of collective self-reliance took well over four eventful years.

III. Objectives

The objectives of the MULPOC, PTA and SADCC are easily comprehensible against the background of their different births. After all, it is the principal architects of these institutions who have defined the purpose for which the institutions exist.

Specifically, the three organizations have the following declared objectives:

(a) Lusaka-based MULPOC

Resolution 296 (XIII) of the Fourth ECA Conference of Ministers defines the objectives of the Lusaka-based MULPOC as:

- Mobilisation of the countries of Eastern and Southern African for collective action in the formulation of a strategy for self-reliant subregional economic transformation taking into account the unique characteristics of the subregion.

- Within the framework of the agreed strategy, provision of assistance in the strengthening and/or creation of institutional mechanisms that would facilitate collective action, provision of assistance in the identification and implementation of national programmes and projects with a multinational potential as well as multinational programmes and projects in the strategic and critical sectors with a view to creating internally-located and viable productive capacities and supportive infrastructural facilities, based on the human and material resources of the subregion.

- Provision of assistance in activities for disengaging the countries of the subregion from continued integration in, and dependence of their economies on, the economies of the developed countries and their trans-national corporations, forcing them to produce what the international economic system wants them to produce rather than what the people in the subregion need.

- Mobilisation of the countries for collective action in their negotiations with developed countries for the sale of their minerals and agricultural raw materials, for the purchase of their requirements, and for rationalisation of aid and investment in accordance with the priorities identified in the subregional development strategy.

- In order to keep, in constant view, the long-term objective of the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act - creation of a subregional economic community as a step towards regional integration -, and in

recognition of the sectoral inter-relationships and complementary nature of projects both among bilateral or multinational arrangements within the subregion and between the subregion and neighbouring subregions, the MULPOC has to co-operate closely with all intra-subregional co-operation arrangements and with neighbouring subregions.

(b) PTA

According to Article 3 of the PTA Treaty, the aim of the PTA is to:

"promote co-operation and development in all fields of economic activity, particularly in the fields of trade, customs, industry, transport, communications, agriculture, natural resources and monetary affairs ..."

It is further stated in Article 28 that the PTA will promote the establishment of, inter alia, appropriate machinery for the exchange of agricultural products, minerals, metals, manufactures and semi-manufactures, as well as the establishment of common training programmes and institutions in various fields which would assist in the development of the manpower required within the PTA.

All this must be viewed against the overriding objective of the PTA as stated in the Lusaka Declaration of Intent and Commitment on the establishment of the PTA, "as a first step towards the creation of a common market and eventually an economic community for the subregion".

(c) SADCC

The Lusaka Declaration defines the objectives of SADCC as:

- A reduction of external dependence especially dependence on the Republic of South Africa;
- The creation of operational and equitable regional integration;
- Mobilisation of domestic and regional resources to carry out national, interstate, and regional policies to reduce dependence and build genuine regional co-ordination;
- Joint action to secure international understanding of and practical support for the SADCC strategy.

As might be expected, all these objectives are couched in general terms. A glance at the specific work programmes of each of the three organizations will reveal the substance of the activities which are actually being undertaken in pursuit of the stated objectives.

IV. Work programmes

Consistent with their declared objectives, each of the three subregional organizations has its own approved work programme of current activities.

As far as the Lusaka MULPOC is concerned, its current sectoral activities cover trade promotion, industry, manpower development, agriculture, transport and communications, Pan-African Information System (PADIS), as well as special studies on migratory labour in Southern Africa, economic sanctions against South Africa, and a study on the economic development of post-apartheid South Africa. It should be stressed that the Lusaka-based MULPOC as an integral part of ECA just as the other MULPOCs, makes substantial inputs into the ECA programmes. In other words, ECA work programmes derive in part from MULPOC work programmes.

The main elements of the PTA work programme cover the fields of trade liberalization (customs and trade, trade documents, clearing and payments procedures); co-operation in transport and communications, industry, agricultural development, and standardization and control of goods. A Clearing House for multinational settlements of transactions among member States will start functioning as from the 1st of February 1984, the Reserve Bank of Zimbabwe being entrusted with the functioning thereof on an interim basis for a period of two years. Studies are currently being finalized for the establishment of a Trade and Development Bank for Eastern and Southern African States.

As regards SADCC its current work programme gives priority to the implementation of specific projects in the fields of transport and communications, agriculture (including fisheries and soils), food self-sufficiency, energy, mining and manpower development. There is also a proposal to establish a Southern African Development Fund. This summary of the current work programmes of the three organizations suffices to indicate that, while their aims and objectives are obviously inter-related, they are not identical, nor are they being pursued at similar levels and in the same contexts.

V. Policy organs

At this point, it is worth reviewing briefly the structure and functions of the constituted policy organs of the MULPOC, PTA and SADCC before discussing how the desired co-ordination of their work programmes can be achieved.

The institutional mechanism of the Lusaka-based MULPOC consists of the following policy organs:

- A subregional Council of Ministers which is the supreme policy organ;
- A subregional Committee of Officials;
- Specialized sectoral committees.

The ordinary meetings of the Council of Ministers and the Committee of Officials take place annually, while sectoral committees meet as necessary. Meetings of all the MULPOC policy organs are convened and serviced by the MULPOC secretariat which is headed by a Director, and is an integral part of the ECA secretariat.

Except for the highest organ, the institutional structure of the PTA is broadly similar to that of the MULPOC and consists of the following organs:

- The Authority consisting of the Heads of State and Governemnt, which is the supreme organ of the PTA and whose ordinary meetings are held annually.
- The Council of Ministers which makes recommendations to the Authority on all matters relating to the functioning of PTA, and holds ordinary meetings twice a year.
- The Intergovernmental Commission of Experts, which meets ordinarily twice a year to consider technical matters and submit recommendations to the Council of Ministers.
- Technical and specialised bodies, 6/ established as necessary.
- The Secretariat, headed by a Secretary-General, consisting of officials from Member States.

The institutional machinery of SADCC consists of the following policy organs:

- The annual summit of Heads of State and Government, which is the supreme policy-making organ.
- The Council of Ministers which assists the supreme policy-making organ.
- The Co-ordinating Standing Committee of Officials.
- Specialised Sectoral Commissions of Experts.
- The Central Secretariat headed by a Secretary-General.

The Council of Ministers, Co-ordinating Committee of Officials and Specialised Sectoral Committees, meet as necessary. The Secretariat is small, its functions being to service the representative bodies and to collect and disseminate information.

6/ Presently these include: Customs and Trade Committee, Clearing and Payments Committee, Committee on Agricultural Co-operation, Committee on Industrial Co-operation, Transport and Communications Committee, and a Committee on Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland.

However, it is worth pointing out that, in addition to these five organs, there are other organisational arrangements which, in reality, make the institutional structure of SADCC much more complex and heavy than meets the eye. While there is provision for a small central secretariat and sectoral committees, primary responsibility for initiating action on specific sectoral and subsectoral projects devolves on individual national governments which have to make their own organisational arrangements to this end. Thus the designated countries are encouraged to establish technical units in relevant ministries for the development of SADCC programmes of activities in the sectors for which they are responsible. To this effect they consult with appropriate ministries in other SADCC member States through visiting missions or periodic meetings of experts or ministers. At present the devolution of sectoral responsibilities is as follows:

Country	Sector
Angola	Energy conservation and security
Botswana	Crop research and animal diseases
Lesotho	Soil conservation and land utilisation
Malawi	Fisheries, forestry and wildlife
Mozambique	Transport and communications
Swaziland	Manpower development
Tanzania	Industrial development
Zambia	Southern African Development Fund and mining
Zimbabwe	Food security

The administrative arrangements developed by the designated countries to co-ordinate their sectoral responsibilities are diverse. Some countries have established their own secretariats for the commission for which they are responsible. Mozambique has established the Southern Africa Transport Commission (SATCC), Tanzania has a technical unit for industrial co-operation, Zimbabwe for food security, Swaziland for manpower development and Zambia for mining· otherwise local co-ordination is on an ad hoc basis

VI. The necessity for co-operation and co-ordination

The necessity for co-operation between the MULPOC, PTA and SADCC and for effective co-ordination of their programmes is fairly obvious and need not be belaboured. Member States of the Eastern and Southern African subregion have expressed concern about possible duplication in the programmes of the three organizations, and recommended that appropriate action should be taken to correct or forestall it. The concern of the member States is understandable if looked at from the point of view of their overlapping membership. The MULPOC serves all the

18 countries of the Eastern and Southern African subregion. 7/ The PTA comprises 12 countries of the subregion 8/ plus Burundi and Rwanda. 9/ SADCC membership consists of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Thus, out of the eighteen countries of the subregion, only nine are members of SADCC. Of the six that have not yet joined the PTA, four are members of SADCC namely, Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Tanzania. And five SADCC member States are also members of the PTA namely, Lesotho, Malawi, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Therefore, the SADCC-PTA-MULPOC membership structures are to some extent interlocking. Hence the urgent need to ensure not only that the most efficient use is made of the available scarce resources, but also that these institutions are effectively working towards the achievement of common goals, which entails the optimum co-ordination of their policies and activities.

VII. Ways and means of strengthening co-operation and co-ordination

In the light of the foregoing

(i) Main observations and conclusions

In the light of the foregoing discussion, it is suggested that the following proposals be considered as possible means of fostering the desired co-operation and co-ordination between the MULPOC, PTA and SADCC. These proposals rest on a recognition of the following observations and conclusions:

(a) That the PTA is committed by the Treaty establishing it, not only to the promotion of genuine economic development of its member States on the basis of collective self-reliance and through a process of structural transformation but also to the ultimate establishment of a common market and an economic community for all Eastern and Southern African States, in direct conformity with the Final Act of Lagos;

(b) The SADCC's objectives are much more limited in scope, to the extent that, unlike the PTA, it is not meant to be a vehicle for the establishment of a common market or an economic community among its own member States, much less among the member States of the whole Eastern and Southern African subregion, its essential aim being to help member States to reduce their dependence on South Africa through the implementation of specific projects financed primarily by developed countries; one has indeed every reason to believe that member States were very much aware of this key disparity between the two organizations since practically all of them including those who were already or were about to become

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7/ Angola, Botswana, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Somalia, Swaziland, Uganda, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and the offshore islands: Comoros, Madagascar, Mauritius and Seychelles.

8/ Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Somalia, Swaziland, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

9/ These two countries belong to the Economic Community of the Great Lakes served by the Gisenyi-based MULPOC. Their membership of the PTA is provided for in Article 46 of the PTA Treaty.

members of SADCC, deemed it necessary to take part in the negotiations that culminated in the signing of the PTA and incidentally spent quite a lot of money to ensure their full participation in these negotiations;

(c) The main "raison d'être" of the MULPOC is to assist in the technical identification, establishment and launching of multinational or subregional economic co-operation schemes and groupings such as the PTA and in the strengthening thereof, through, inter alia, ensuring the co-ordination of the overall efforts of its member States, the United Nations and donor agencies;

(d) It follows from the above that the objectives and functions of the three institutions are to a great extent inter-related, but not exactly the same, with those of the PTA being the most comprehensive in nature and the more directly in line with the Lagos Plan of Action and Final Act and the PTA possessing a membership which, while not yet as large as that of the MULPOC, is bigger than SADCC's (14 against 9) and shows signs of expanding rapidly;

(e) While there is a recognized need to ensure effective co-ordination of the policy and activities of the three institutions, there is, as of now, no mechanism specifically entrusted with this task.

(ii) Recommendations

In the light of the above-mentioned conclusions, it is recommended that:

1. All Eastern and Southern African States that have not yet done so should join PTA;

2. The PTA Authority should be recognized as the supreme organ which would lay down overall policy guidelines for the socio-economic development of the subregion as a whole and its economic co-operation and integration in accordance with the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos;

3. On the basis of these guidelines the PTA Authority should be entrusted with the task of defining and co-ordinating the policies to be followed by the PTA and SADCC respectively so as to advance the effective evolution of the subregion into a Common Market in the 1990s and towards an African Economic Community by the year 2000;

4. The PTA Authority should direct and supervise the activities of the PTA and SADCC and decide on a meaningful division of labour among them in such a way as to make their activities mutually reinforcing; the MULPOC should constitute the technical arm of both PTA and SADCC and provide them with technical backstopping. In addition it should continue to be the subregional grass root organ of ECA in the Eastern and Southern African subregion;

5. Over a priod of time to be agreed upon, say three to four years during which a process of systematic co-operation and "rapprochement" between SADCC and PTA would take place, and the strong developed countries' influence that now prevails at SADCC would be minimized, the latter could become a specialized sub-organ of PTA.

6. To initiate this process of co-operation and rapprochement there should be periodic consultative meetings of the Executive Heads of the three organizations or their representatives to discuss matters of common interest and the three secretariats should exchange documents and attend meetings of each other's policy organs.

APPENDIX

Table 1: PTA and SADCC countries - Per capita income at current market, 1981 prices

	PTA countries	SADCC countries
Angola	1,048	1,048
Botswana	1,204	1,204
Comoros	208	-
Djibouti	1,112	-
Ethiopia	148	-
Kenya	396	-
Lesotho	281	281
Madagascar	342	-
Malawi	265	265
Mauritius	1,160	-
Mozambique	527	527
Seychelles	2,050	-
Somalia	500	-
Swaziland	946	946
Tanzania	283	283
Uganda	481	-
Zambia	571	571
Zimbabwe	665	665
Burundi	225	-
Rwanda	251	-
AVERAGE PER CAPITA	633.15	289.50

Table 2: Population per country: PTA and SADCC countries

	PTA (1980)	SADCC (1980)
Angola	8,136,000	8,136,000
Botswana	819,000	819,000
Comoros	360,000	-
Djibouti	198,000	-
Ethiopia	31,468,000	-
Kenya	15,948,000	-
Lesotho	1,337,000	1,337,000
Madagascar	8,654,000	-
Malawi	5,968,000	5,968,000
Mauritius	959,000	-
Mozambique	12,130,000	12,130,000
Seychelles	66,000	-
Somalia	4,637,000	-
Swaziland	549,000	549,000
Tanzania	18,545,000	18,545,000
Uganda	12,777,000	-
Zambia	5,679,000	5,679,000
Zimbabwe	7,360,000	7,360,000
Burundi	4,286,000	-
Rwanda	4,798,000	-
TOTAL	144,674,000	60,523,000

Table 3: GDP (US dollars 10,000, at 1981 current market price)

	PTA countries	SADCC countries
Angola	716,311	716,311
Botswana	96,199	96,199
Comoros	11,899	-
Djibouti	37,602	-
Ethiopia	480,000	-
Kenya	675,278	-
Lesotho	38,180	38,180
Madagascar	398,323	-
Malawi	165,004	165,004
Mauritius	113,341	-
Mozambique	546,420	546,420
Seychelles	14,757	-
Somalia	188,388	-
Swaziland	51,568	51,568
Tanzania	521,521	521,521
Uganda	675,788	-
Zambia	342,839	342,839
Zimbabwe	512,913	512,913
Burundi	98,437	-
Rwanda	124,254	-
TOTAL	5,809,022	2,990,955